



A TRVE REPORT of the inditement, arraigh- ment, conuiction, condemnation,

and Execution of Iohn VVeldon, William Hartley,
and ROBERT SUTTON:

Who suffered for high Treason, in severall places, about the
Citie of L O N D O N, on Saturday the fifth of
October. Anno 1588.

With the Speeches, which passed between a learned Prea-
cher and them: Faithfullie collected, even in the same
wordes, as neere as might be remembred.

By one of credit, that was present
at the same,

Imprinted at London by Richard Iones, 1588.

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To the Christian Reader;

grace, and truth in Christ Iesus,



Lamentable it is to beholde, yet most necessarie to consider (good reader) howe that mighty and malicious enemy of mankind, (Satan) who in the scriptures hath so many names, both of power, policie, and practise: albeit he hath alwaies (as a roaring lyon) walked about, seeking whom he might deuour, yet now in these last and most dangerous daies, doth so busilie bestur himselfe against vs: and as hee hath spread diuers nets, layed many snares, vsed sundrie, some bloodie, some craftie practises: finallie, bent all his forces, and employed all his meanes and ministers, to disturbe the quiet and established estate of this Church of England, vnder the happie gouernement of our dread soueraigne, Queene Elizabeth: sometime, by thundering threatnings from the sea of Rome, to pronounce her Maiestie a Schismaticke, an heretike an vsurper, & so to discharge her loyall subiects of their allegiance: somtime, assaieing how he could preuaile by more then ciuill sword: sometimes, by raising sundrie, dangerous, and damnable sects, and sectaries, to diminish the credite, and hinder the good successe of the gospel: Sometime, by sophisticall writing against the receiued trueth, mightily confirmed by the infallible testimony of the worde of God: sometime, by inciting and incensing graceles and godles persons, to lay violent hands on the Lords annointed, to endaunger her sacred person: yea, to conspire her Maiesties death and destruction. And now lately, by sending in foraine power, to depose her highnes, from her estate, crowne & dignitie; nay, to make

Gen. 3. 1.
Iob. 40. 20.
Esay. 27. 1.
Ephes. 6. 12.
1. Pet. 5. 8.
Apec. 12. 3.

To the Christian Reader.

a conquest of her kingdom: and (had the Lord permitted them) to haue brought both vs and our posteritie to vtter confusion: So, since he seeth that the Lord (by her Maiestie) though weake in respect of her sex, yet strong by hys power, (who chuseth the weake thinges of the worlde, to confound the strong, that his power might appeare in our infirmities) hath repelled his violence, defeated his practises, withstood his forces, and ouerthrowen his complices: nay: to confesse the plaine trueth, and to make vs all the daies of our life the more thankefull to his Maiestie, that our great and glorious God, the almighty Iehouah, whose name is the Lord of hosts, taking his owne cause in hand, hath not onely mightilie, or rather miraculously preserved her highnes, and defended vs from the bloodie purposes of our most malicious enemies, so that the snare is broken and wee deliuered, but hath further of late, without all mans aid to the glory of his name, astonishment of the papists, and wonder of the whole world, returned vengeance into their owne bosomes, and blood into their owne bowels, distressed their ships, runne them on the rockes, shoued them on the sands, sunck them in the seas, destroyed their munition, and drowned their men: returning the small remainder of them (if anye haue escaped) with hys hooke in their nostrils, and his bridel in their lips, to their perpetuall shame and confusion. This the Lords worke so wonderful in our eyes, and so memorable for posterity, which euen of it selfe were able (if their hearts be not harder than the Adamant) to bring all the papists and other the enemies of God and his gospell, vnder the cope of heauen, to consider, how the truth is great, and will preuaile, and how hard it will be for them to kick against the prick of Gods power: yet all this notwithstanding, Sathan will

1 Cor. 1. 27.

2. King. 19.
28.

Acts. 9. 5.

To the Christian Reader.

will not thus cease, but still dooth prosecute his wicked purpose, and therefore by his vice-gerent, that man of sin, that sonne of perdition, that professed enemy of England, the Pope, stil conuaideth from time to time into this realm that secreat seminarie of sedition, which couertly and craftelie dispersing them selues into all parts of this land, lead captiue simple women, and other seduced soules, traueiling by all meanes to make proselites, double worse the children of hell, then they them selues: and so robbe God of his creatures, Christ of his members, her Maiestie of her subiectes, and the people of their saluation. Such were these persons here set downe, as by their behauiour at their arraignment, and execution maye well appeare: which I haue penned faithfullie as neere as I could call to remembrance, in the same words that it passed. And this haue I done (gentle Reader) both for thy comfort and instruction, that hereby thou maist be the more stirred vp to thankesfulnes vnto that gracious God that in mercie hath opened thine eyes to see his truth, and mollified thy heart, to consent vnto the same: and maist also stop thine ears, against all enchaunting perswasions of the aduersaries, if they shall go about to abuse thee: and ioyne with me, and all other good subiectes, in faithfull and seruent praier, for the long preservation of her Maiestie in al felicitie, and either for the speedie conuersion, or final confusion of all her enemies, Amen.

2. Thes 2. 3.

A true report of the indite-

ment, arraignment, conuiction, condemnation
and execution of Iohn Weldon, William Hart-
ley, & Robert Sutton who suffered for high trea-
son, on saturday the 5. of October.

Anno. 1588.

Iohn Weldon Priest, bozne at Tollerton, in the
countie of Yorke, sometime student in Caius Col-
ledge in Cambridge, was indited by the name of
Iohn Weldon, alias, Sauell, late of Graies-Inlane,
within the countie of Midd. Clarke: For that he
being bozn within her Maiesties dominions, was
not onely made Priest at Parris, by authoritie deriued from the sea
of Rome, contrarie to the lawes of this realme, but had also trai-
terouslie after wardes entred into this lande, sent by the Pope or
his Substitutes, to execute the office of a Seminarie Priest here,
cōtrary to an estatute in that behalfe pꝛouided: by vertue wherof, he
was indited of high treason. This was the effect of his inditement:
the forme I am not able to set downe, neither is it now necessary.
Being vpon this inditement arraigned, on Friday the fourth of
October, at the Sessions house nigh Newgate, before the right ho-
nourable the L. Maior, the L. chiefe iustice of England, the right
worshipfull the D. Attourney generall, M. Sergeant Fleetwood,
Recorder of the Citie of London, S. Owen Hopton knight, Liefe-
tenant of her Ma. Tower of London, S. Rowland Haiward, Sir
Wolston Dixi knights, and diuers other her Maiesties iustices in
commission of Oyer and determiner, and pleading therevnto not
giltie, he was asked how he would be tried, wherevnto hee would
make no answer, and being required by the Clarke of the peace,
for the countie of Midd. after the reading of his said inditement of-
fentimes, to make certaine answer, how he would be tried accor-
ding to the lawes of this realme, and common dutie of all subiects,
which (in such cases) are to bee tried by God and their Countrey.
The said Weldon, taking exceptions, first to the inditemēt, as false
and vntrue: then to the iurie, or enquest to be impaneled vpon him,
as vnfit men to trie him, being more lay men: yea, and to the whole

Bench

The arraignment and execution,

Weldon, as unwoozy to bee his Judges, resolved (as hee saied very maliciouslie, and slanderouslie) befoze hand to condemne all Catholiques brought befoze them; affirmed himselfe to be a Priest, and therefore not triable by the common lawes, nor bounde to make answer to the inditement. And albeit he was answered by M. Recorder, verie grauelie, and learnedly, that it might appeare by dyvers old estatutes, and other antient recordes, that euen in the time of superstition, when the Pope exercised his greatest iurisdiction within this realme, yet Cleargie-men, Priestes, Abbots, yea Bishops, and Archbishops, might bee, and haue bene (in some cases) tried by the common lawes, and by the verdict of twelue laye men, as by sundrie instances by him it was made manifest: yet the sayd Weldon, persisting in his obstinacie, and abusing the patience, and long suffering of those Honorable and worshipful personages there present, who had not onely gently heard him, but vled many milde perswasions and inductions to haue drawen him to conformity, promising all indifferencie, and lawfull fauour in hearing whatsoeuer he could iustlie alleadge for his owne defence, or disprouing the inditement, so he would submitte him selfe to triall and answer according to the lawe: In the end, hee had iudgement giuen against him by the said Maister Recorder, with the consent, and by the direction of the L. Maior, and the rest of the Judges, and Iustices, to be executed as a Traitor, viz. to be hanged, drawen, and quartered, and M. Sheriffes were thereupon required to see execution.

Hartley's arraignment.

2 In like manner, William Hartley, alias Garton, borne at Nottingham, was indicted, and arraigned after the same manner, and for the same cause that Weldon was: which Hartley pleaded to his inditement not guiltie, and after some frivolous allegations he was content to put himselfe to triall of God and the Countrey, against whome among other euidences, to proue his traiterous disposition, it was testified to his face, by the oath of one Walton then present, that a Letter was sent this last Summer by the said Hartley out of England to Parris, to certaine Seminarie Priests there, importing the full resolution of the said Hartley, and some other his confederates, (immediatelie vpon the landing of the Spaniards) to haue suppressed her Maiesties Tower of London, and to haue fired the Citie: this Letter Walton affirmed, that hee saw in Parris; and al-
beit

best, Hartley denied the writing thereof, saying that hee was sicke at the time when it should bee written, yet to make his good affection to her Maestie & the state, further appaunt, there was openly read a part of his owne examination, taken befoze Maister James Daulton, and Maister Richard Yoong Esquiers, two of her Maesties Justices, and subscribed with his own hand, (wherein among other things) he had set it downe in plaine words, that if the Pope by his Apostolique authoritie, do depriue the M. Maestie, and doe discharge her subiectes of their obedience, and send an Armie to restore the Catholique Romaine Religion into England, he would not take her Maesties part, but would praye that the Catholique Romaine Armie might preuaile in that cause of Catholique religion: and in that faith he would spend (if he had them) ten thousand millions of liues: and this he speaketh (as hee saith) in the integrity of his soule.

In the end, he being scand' gilty by the iury: after many froward and frivolous speeches, rather testifying his impenitencie and impudencie, then deserv'ing farther memorie: he hadde iudgement as the first.

3 Then was the inditement of Robert Sutton read: who was indited so; that hee beeing borne, and heretofore sworne her Maesties subject, and taking vpon him the instruction of youth, and office of a Scholemaster within this realme: had yet notwithstanding, bene of late yeares reconciled to the Church of Rome and authoritie of the Pope, contrary to his former oath and allegiance, and against an estatute in that behalfe provided.

Sutton.

To this inditement the said Sutton pleading not gilty, and putting him selfe on triall, standing (though not with such obstinacy as the rest) to his opinion, concerning the authoritie of the B. of Rome, confessing her Maestie supreamie gouernoz. within her highnes dominions ouer all persons, but not ouer all causes: and yet hauing nothing to defend his assertion, but a froward will, and a sentence of a father alleadged, (as he saith) by Campion, which hee did not well remember, was in the end, also found gilty, and so had his iudgement as the rest. After the denouncing wherof, they were had from the barre to Newgate so; that night.

The execution of Weldon.

The next day, being the fifth of October, the three above named were conueied through the Citie of London, by M. Sheriffs to Mile-end, the place wher Weldon was executed: who being bound, and raised upon his feet, was very gentle and charitably required by M. Sheriffs to prepare himselfe to die, & to aske her Maiestie forgiveness, for his offences, who had mercifullie dispensed with the rest of his iudgement. Why (quoth he) should I aske her forgiveness, whom I neuer offended? No: (saide M. Shirisfe Ofley) hast thou not offended her? Wast thou not borne a subiect within her highnes dominions? Wast thou not made Priest by authority, deriued from the Pope at Parris: and after wards camest thou not traiterously in to this realme, to withold her Maiesties subiects from their obedience, is this no offence? No (quoth he) I came not willingly into this realme, I was drawen in against my will, and brought in by force. Weldon (quoth a learned and godly Preacher, there present) abuse not the people with such vntruthes. I was my selfe at thy arraignment, where it was proued to thy face, y thou first camest into this land of thine own voluntary, sent in by the direction of the Pope, or his substitutes, and then thou being apprehended, and committed, where the law might haue iustly bin executed vpon thee as a Traitor, her Maiesty, of her free clemency, pardoned thy life, onely banished thee her dominions. After that, thou camest in y second time, and then being apprehended, thou cunningly and craftily didst abuse authority, pretending thy selfe to be conuerted, & promising to continue a Protestant during thy life, thou wast not onely enlarged & set at liberty, but hadst mony also giuen thee to supply thy wants, & defray thy charges: After all this, thou didst secretly conuay thy selfe into Flaunders, meaning (as it was to be coniectured) to kill the Earle of Leicester: which his Honour being aduertised of, caused thee to be apprehended, and sent ouer into England. Wherefore sith thy treachery & hipocrisie is so notorius, stand not now vpon Apologies and protestations to iustifie thy selfe: but hearken vnto the charitable & godly exhortation made vnto thee by Maister Shirisfe: aske God and her Maiesty forgiveness, fro the bottome of thy hart, that we may al be witnesses of thy conuersion. I haue (quoth he) don nothing but as a Romaine Catholique priest ought to do, by y direction of our most holy Father the Pope being the head of the Church: who onely hath

authori

authoritie ouer al persons, and in all causes Ecclesiasticall, as both by the word of God, counsailes, fathers, and all antiquitie it hath bene, and is to bee granted: and in this Catholique Romaine religion I will die, and willingly shed my blood. Thy answer (quoth the Preacher) although it putteth mee in smale hope to do the good, yet least it should do the hearers harme: I wil (by M. Sherriffes patience) sit wee haue so much time, and the executioner is not yet come, a little examine it, that so thy folly and falshood may the more appeare, and both thou and thy fellows be diuened, if not to sorrow, which I wish, yet at the least to shame and silence. Thy answer (as I conceiue it) may be reduced to these three heads: first, a Pharisaicall iustification of thine own doings. Secondly: a false suggestion of the Popes authoritie. Thirdly: a finall resolution, to die as thou hast liued: that is, an enemy to God and his Church, and a Traitor to thy prince & countrey. As to the first thou saiest, thou hast done as a Romaine Catholique priest ought to do. Such Epythetons giuen to Priests or priesthood I neuer hard: The scriptures mention onely three priesthoods: of Melchizedech, proper onely to Christ: of Aaron, determined at the coming of Christ: & of the new testament, which priesthood onely is Catholique: that is, common or vniuersall to the whole Church of God, and euery member of the same: according to the saying of S. Peter: vos estis regale sacerdotium: you are a royall priesthood. If thou meane by a Romain priest, a priest professing the faith which the church of Rome held for the first 600. yeares after christ. Albeit, our faith be not tied to persons nor places, but grounded on Christ Iesus the corner stone, yet would to God thou didst trulie profess thy faith: then should we sore agree, that Church of Rome was a persecuted Church, not a persecuting Church. The Bishopsthere of did not make Partys, as these doe now, but were martyred themselves to the number of 25. in order one after another, being elected not by factious conspiring, not by power, or party taking, not by money or friends making, as they be now: but by the free voices of the people & of the cleargie, with the approbation & consent of the Emperour: & as for the title, inquisition and institution of doctrine which the church of Rome now holdeeth: (to speake nothing of their manner of life & conuersation, for that were too odious:) I say, y neither these, nor any of these, euer descended from y primitive age of y apostles.

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or from their succession: so that, although it hath the name of the Church Apostolical, and doth bring forth a long genealogie of outward succession from the Apostles, as the Pharisees did in Christ bys time, bying theyr discent from Abraham theyr Father: yet this is onelie in name, and not in matter or effect: So that as Christ saied of the Pharisees, that they were the children, not of Abraham, but of the deuill: so may I say, that this Church of Rome now present, with this title, iurisdiction and doctrine, now vled, can not be fathered vpon the Apostles, nor deserueth to be called by that name of primitive Church, but that it hath an other author: & that you are Schismatiks, that haue departed frō the antient faith of the Church of Rome, and not we. To the second part of thy answer, concerning the authoritie of the Pope, whom thou saiest to bee supreme head over the Church, I would knowe of thee whence hee challengeth this his authoritie: For that (quoth Weldon) he is heir vnto Peter. Why then (quoth the Preacher) I will answer thee as Barnard answered Eugenius: in his 237. Epistle ad Eugenium papam: Verus haeres Petri, dicet cum Petro, non dominantes in clerum, sed forma facta gregi. Verus successor Pauli dicet cum Paulo, non dominamur fidei vestrae, sed adiutores sumus gaudii vestri. Verus discipulus Christi, audiet Christum dicentem & docentem: estote mites quia ego mitis sum: In English thus. The true heire of Peter, wil say with Peter: we are not Lords ouer the whole congregation, but are examples vnto the flocke. The true successour of Paule, will say with Paule: wee are not Lords ouer your faith, but we are furtherers of your ioy. The true disciple of Christ, wil hear his Maister teaching and saing: Be you humble and meeke, for I am humble and meeke. Thus thou hearest by the authoritie of S. Barnard, a learned and antient father: (because you Papists stand so much vpon fathers) how the Pope your most holy father, is neither heire vnto Peter, nor successour vnto Paule, nor yet the disciple of Christ, and therefore wee might say boldly, and may say trulye, that he is Antechrist, whose doctrine is hereticallie corrupted, whose title is falsely groundd, and whose iurisdiction is presumptuously vsurped.

And where thou saiest, that the Popes sole authoritie, in causes Ecclesiasticall, may be proued by the word of God, counsailes, fathers,

Ro. 8. 39.

1. Pet. 5. 3.
 2. Cor. 1. 24.

Math. 11. 19

thers, and all antiquitie: thou sinnest in lieng, either of ignorance,
 if thou know not the truth, or of malicious impudēcy, if thou know
 it and wilt not confesse it: for by all these it will appeare, that not
 the Pope, but the Prince hath had, and ought to haue the supreme
 authoritie in al causes within their own dominions: yea, euen ouer
 the bishops themselves. And albeit, I must haue regard to the time,
 for thou art come hither to die, and not I to dispute: yet for Scrip-
 tures, Dauid beeing a king numbred all the Priestes and Leuites, 1. Par. 22. 13
 and disposed them into 24. orders or courses, as they came about:
 which institution, Ezechias, being also a king after ward, renewed:
 which continued from Dauid euen till the time of Zachary, at 2. Reg. 18. 3.
Luke 1.
 the comming of Christ, beeing of Abias course, which was the
 eight order. Did not Salomon a king, displace Abiathar the priest
 by his kingly power, and placed Sadoch? Did not Iehosaphat and
 Iosias beeing kings, appoint Leuits and Priestes: And in the new 3. Reg. 6.
10. 19
 testament, did not Christ himselfe both giue and teach, tribute to be
 giuen to Caesar: to Caesar I say, and not to the high Priest? Did he
 graunt Pilate to haue authoritie ouer his owne person, and that
 from God? Againe, declaring the kings of nations to haue domini-
 on ouer them, and willing his disciples not to do so, dooth hee not
 giue vs to vnderstand the difference betwene the regiment of his
 spirituall kingdome, and of the kingdomes of this world, willing
 all worldly states to be subiect vnto the superioꝝ rulers and Magi-
 strates: in whose regiment is dominion and subiection, and not in
 the other? And doth not S. Paul say: let euery soule be subiect to the Rom. 13.
 higher powers? Upon which words, both Chrysostome and Theo-
 philaet do note, that neither Pope, Cardinall, Patriarke, Bishop,
 Fryer, Monke, Party, or man, is excepted or exempted: Vniuer-
 sos erudit siue Sacerdos ille sit, siue Monachus, siue Apostolus, vt se-
 principibus subdant: He teacheth all sorts (say they) whether he be
 priest, Monke, or Apostle, that they should submit themselves vnto
 their Princes. And dooth not Saint Augustine writing ad Boni-
 facium, say in like sort: Quicumque legibus imperatoris, qui pro dei
 veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplici-
 um: that is: whosoener refuseth the lawes of the Emperour, which
 make for the truth of God, incurreth the danger of great punish-
 ment: And in another place, writing to Cresconius, hath hee not
 these

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these words: In hoc enim reges sicut eis diuinitus præcipitur, deo seruiunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum quæ ad diuinam religionem. &c. That is: kings according as it is enjoined them of God, doe serue God in that they are kings, if they in their kingdome, commaund those things that bee good, and so bid those things that be evil: such as appertaine not onely to humane society, but also to Gods Religion. And to come to your owne doctors.

Doosth not Thomas of Aquine describing the office of a king, say thus: Hoc officium Rex se suscepisse cognoscat, vt sit in regno, sicut in corpore anima, & sicut deus in mundo. Let a king vnderstand he be hath taken this office vpon him, to bee (in his kingdome) as the soule within the body, and as God in the worlde. And as for counsels: in the counsell of Nice, which was holden Anno 340. the 6. Canon of the said counsell we finde it thus decreed. That in euery prouince and pæctinct, some one Church and Bishoppe of the same, was appointed to haue the iurisdiction of other Churches about (secundum morem antiquum) that is, after the auncient custome, as the wordes of the counsell do purport: so that the Bishop of Alexandria should haue power, ouer Libia and Pentapolis. Forasmuch as the bishop of Rome hath the like in some maner, and so likewise in Antioch, Ierusalem, and other countries, let such order be kept (sayeth the decree) that none of the Metropolitane Cities, bee defrauded of the dignity due and proper vnto them.

In this decree, where the Bishop of Alexandria, Ierusalem, and Antioch, are ioyned together in one like maner of dignity, with the Bishoppe of Rome: there appeareth no difference of honour to bee meant therein much lesse any soueraintie allowed him.

After this, followed a generall counsell in Affrick, called the first Counsell of Carthage, holden Anno 420. where were assembled two hundred and seuentene Bishops: Among whome was Saint Augustine himselfe: this Counsell continued the space of five years, wherein was great contention, about the Supremacie and iurisdiction of Rome, the Bishoppe whereof, was then Zozimus: this Zozimus the Romaine Bishop, had receiued the same time into the communion

of Weldon, Hartley, and Sutton,

communion of y^e Church, without any examination, one that came to complaine vnto him out of Affricke, named Apiarius a Priest, whose Aurelius the Metropolitane, with the Counsell of Aphrike, had without helpe excommunicated, for bys detestable conditions before.

Upon this, Zozimus, after hee had shewed this fauour to Apiarius, for that hee byd appeale vnto him, sendeth to the Councell bys messengers to wit Faustus Bishoppe of Potentynce, and two Priestes of the Church of Roome, named Philippus and Asellus with thes request, that not onely Apiarius whom hee had absolved, might be receined of them againe, but that it might also be lawfull for Bishops or Priestes to appeale from the sentence of theyr Metropolitanes, and of the Councell, to the Sea of Roome: Alledging for himselfe, the wordes (as he pretended) taken out of the Nicene Councell. The Councell of Carthage hearing this, and remembryng no such thing in the Councell of Nice to haue bene decreed: and yet not suspecting the Bishop of Roome to dare to falsifie the wordes of that Councell: writeth againe to Zozimus, declaring that they neuer reade (to theyr remembraunce) in theyr common Latine Exempler of the Nicene Councell, any such Canon: Yet notwithstanding for quietnes sake, they would obserue the same, (for the tyme) till they might procure the originall Copie of that Councell, to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch: to the like effect after ward they wrote to Pope Boniface which then succeeded Zozimus: And thirdlie also, to Celestinus, which shortly after succeeded Boniface.

In the meane time, this foresayde Councell, sent theyr Legates Marcellus and Innocentius, to Atticus Patriarcke of Constantinople, and so Cyrillus, Patriarcke of Alexandria, for the autentique coppies in Orake of the sayd Nycene Councell: and after due examination, fynding there no such president as Zozimus and bys successors Bonifacius, and Celestinus pretended, they wrote a sharpe Letter to the sayd Celestinus, declaring vnto hym that they had perused all the Coppies of the Councell of Nice, and could find no such canon, as he and his predecessors had falsely alledged, and therewithal resuting the said canon before mentioned,

declared

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declared how the decrees of the Nicene councell, had upon iust causes and great considerations, committed all and singuler persons Ecclesiasticall, as well Bishoppes as other, vnto the charge of their Metropolitans: for that the fathers of that counsell did well foresce that all controuersies might there best bee ended where they were begun: and that therefore they ought not to runne to any forraigne iudge, or seeke further for outlandish helpe, as though God would inspire his iustice and truth of examining vnto one Bishoppe, and denie it to a multitude congregated in a whole counsel: or as though the grace of God would be prest and readie in one prouince, but not in an other to instruct his ministers, both prudently to vnderstand iudgement, and constantly to maintaine the same. Wherefore, as by these and other reasons, they thoughte it not conuenient for them to bring their matters ouer vnto Rome, so, neyther was it to bee found (saied they) by any counsell of the olde fathers decreed, that any legats shold be sent from Rome to them, for deciding their controuersies: and therefore exhorted they the said Bishop of Rome, that hee would not induce, fumosum typum seculi in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis, & humilitatis præfert, iis qui deum diligunt: that is: that hee would not induce the swelling pride of the world, into the Church of Christ: which Church sheweth and giueth the light of simplicitie and of humilitie to such as loue to see God. And as for the malefactor Aparius, whome the Bishop of Rome, had absolved and receiued to the communion of the Church, this counsel afterward found him culpable, and therefore proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so intolned him due penance for his demerits: notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishoppe of Rome, before proceeding. There was also celebrated an other counsel, called, Sinodus Meluitana about the yeare 442. where it was decreed vnder paine of excommunication, that no Minister, Priest, or Bishop, should appeale ouer the sea to the Bishop of Rome: and thus thou seest (Weldon) howe the counsels make against thee. To these might I ad infinit other authorities out of the fathers, beside lawes imperfall, of Honorius, Iustinian, Lodouicus Pius, Carolus magnus, and diuers others: to speake nothing of the auncient estatutes of this realme, whereby may appeare, how falsely thou affirmest the

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the Pope to haue been acknowledged in all times, & of all persons
supreme head of the Church: but th'extortioner is come, and time
passeth awaye. Wherefore to the last parte of thy answer, thy
wilfulnes and obstinacie, we all are sorry for it, and thou oughtest
(in conscience) to be ashamed of it: Thou thinkest (peradventure)
to gaine among the Papists y name of a Martyr: but remember,
it is not poena, but causa, quæ facit martyrem, not y punishment, but
the cause, that maketh y martyr: wherefore recorde thy self to God,
submit thy selfe to her Maiestie, repent thee of thy sins, praye as a
Christian should, that is with a deap feeling of thy sinne wout dis-
paire, and a stedfast hope in y mercy of God, sealed vp in the bloud
of Christe Iesus, without presumption: & (so) will we all pray with
thee, and for thee. I desire (quoth Weldon) all Catholiques, to pray
for me: And so began to mumble vp certain prayers in Latin. The
Preacher (seeing his obstinacie) willed the people to lift vp their
hartes in prayer, and so made this prayer following.

The prayer at Weldon his execution.

Among all other thy benefites, in the aboundance of the mercies,
Abountifullye bestowed vpon vs, (O most gracious God and lo-
uing Father) we honor thy Maiestie, and praise thy holy name, for
that when we sat in darkenes, and in the shadowe of death, it pleased
thee (of thy Fatherly kindenes) to open our eyes, and to disclose vnto
vs the beautifull beames of thy glorious Gospel, and cleer light of thy
holy woord: through the which we haue scene (to our singuler com-
fort) the great difference betweene trueth and falshood, betweene
faith and opinion, betweene religion and superstition, between those
holye exercises enioyned vs, by thy expresse commaundement, and
the vain deuises of our idle fantasies, finally between the happy daies
which we now enioy, and that miserable time which the we spent in
ignorance and error. And the more doo we praise thee for thy great
mercies extended toward vs in this behalfe, for that we see with sor-
row, how these silly soules are yet detayned in that palpable blinde-
nes, nay (as we feare) in thy iust iudgementes giuen vp (for their vn-
thankfulnes) into a reprobate minde: and yet, for that, while there is
life there is hope, and for that the loue of Christe, dooth binde vs to
loue our bretheren as Christe hath loued vs: we most humbly beseech

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thee in the name and for the merites of thy Sonne Christe Iesus, to be merciful vnto thē, to open their eyes, that they may see, and to mollify their hartes, that they may beleue, to alter their willes that they may embrace, thy holy trueth. Take frō them (o Lord) the stony hart, and giue them a fleshy hart: and sith thy sonne Christ Iesus is the only way that erreth not, the only trueth that decieueth not, the only life that wasteth not, poure downe thy graces on them, that they disclayning all hope and confidence in themselues, and viterly renouncing all mans merites or meanes, may flye onely to thy mercy in the death and passion of thy Sonne Christe Iesus.

Moreouer, where their sinnes are (in thy iuste iudgementes,) now made manifest to the worlde, euen their great and greuous sinnes, committed against thy maiestie, against the sacred person of our dread soueraigne *Queene Elizabeth*, against this state and Realme of England: euen those sinnes, for the which they haue been iustly condemned, and are now worthely to be executed, and those sinnes for the which they cannot possibly be pardoned, vnlesse they be from the bottome of their hartes both sorrowefull for them, and ashamed of them: therefore O Lord, strike them thorowe with thy feare, cast them downe with a due and deepe consideration of their horrible offences, giue them melting hartes, make them tremble at thy iudgementes, that they may confesse their faultes, and acknowledge their greuous offences to thee and her Maiesty: And so (deare father receiue) them to mercy, washe them in the bloud of thy Sonne Christe Iesus: and though their sinnes be as red as scarlet: make thē as white as snowe: that how soeuer the law hath determined of their naturall liues, yet challengethy own in them, rebuke that proud enemy that hath so long abused them, and finally make them pertakers of euarlasting life, through Iesus Christe our Lord, in whome we call vpō thee, and pray vnto thee as he hath taught vs saying: *Our Fa. &c.*

Then the executioner was commaunded to do his dutye.

The execution of *Hartley*.

After Weldons execution, the other prisoners were brought to Hollywell, nigh the Theater, where Hartley was to suffer. The preacher ceased not all the way to perswade him to repētāce, and to aske her maiesty forgiuenes, and when they were come to the place of executiō appointed for Hartley, he was willed to prepare him selfe to dye. I am (quoth he) willing and resolved to dye, hoping

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hoping (by this my short pain and suffering) to enter into everlasting glorye. Remember Hartley, (quoth the Preacher) what was saide to thy fellowe. It is not the paine, but the cause, that maketh the Party, thou hast greuously offended God, her Maiestie, and this whole land: thou comnest hither to dye, not as a marty, but as a traitor, for high treason: Because, that contrary bothe to the lawes of God and this Realme, thou (sente in by our common enemy the Pope) hast sought to seduce her Maiesties subiectes, to withholde them from their obedience, to our dread soueraigne Quene Elizabeth, whom y Lord long preserve ouer vs: to moue them to rebellyon, and to prepare them to ioyne with the foraine enemye, that should come to inuade vs: besides those perticuler treasons, vouched yester day to thy face, for cōspiring (with others) to surpryse her Maiesties Tower of London, and to fire this famous Citie. These are horrible treasons, & therfore as we all say with S. Augustine, *De verbis apostoli sermone 2.*

Dei misericordia nos coronat, non enim digni fuimus, quos vocaret, vocatos iustificaret, iustificatos glorificaret. It is the mercy of God that crowneeth vs, for we were not worthy of our calling, nor being called of our iustification, nor being iustified of our glorification, & with the same Augustine, Epist. 52. *Nihil sumus per nos peccata nostra sunt, merita autem dei, suplicium nobis debetur et cum premium venerit dona sua coronabit, non merita nostra.* We are nothing of our selues, our sins are our owne, but our merits are gods, we haue deserued nothing but death, and when our reward shall come, God wil crowne his owne giftes not our merits. For that our workes (if they be good) are Gods and not ours, done of duty, and therfore voide of desert, for the creature cannot binde the creator, nor man, deserue of God: And therfore saye with S. Paule, in the 2. to the *Ephesi-*

ans, that by grace we are saued, not of our selues, it is the gifte of God, and commeth not of workes: And with the same Saint Paule, *Rom 11.* If it be of grace, it is no more of workes, or els were grace no more grace: So thy workes, being thus made manifest to the worlde, thou oughtest to be sorry for them, and ashamed of them, especiall ye, (if there be in thee any sparke of Gods grace) thou oughtest with all hartly sorowe and unfained submission, to aske God and her Maiestye forgiveness, for these

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Rom. 11.6

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thy horrible treasons, intended against her. If (quoth Hartley) I haue offended her highnes. I aske her forgiveness. If thou haue (quoth Maister Sheriffe) it is well known, that thou hast highly offended both God and her, and hast committed treason against her. If (quoth he) to exercise the function of a Romaine catholique I esse be treason, then haue I committed treason. Well (quoth the Preacher) thou hast heard what hath been said to thy fellow: we come not hether to dispute with thee, the law (thou seest) hath passed vpon thee, thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and (by lawfull triall) found guiltye of high treason, and hadst iudgement to suffer as a traitor, saue that her Maestie hath dispensed with some parte of thy iudgement: It remaineth that thou prepare thy selfe to dye: if thou wilt, we will praye with thee: (so thou praye in English) and as a good Christian should doe: I wil (quoth Hartley) praye in Latin, and I desire you not to praye with me, yet (quoth the Preacher) we will pray for thee, wherupon he made then also this prayer following, the people ioyning with him in great seruencie.

The praier at Hartleyes execution.

Rom. I. **A**lbeit we humbly acknowledge thy iudgements (most mightye Lord) how soeuer secret, yet alwaies to be iust: in that thy wrath is reuealed from the heauens, againste all vngodlines and vn-rightuousnes of men: which knowledging thee to be God, yet glorify thee not as God: but become vaine in their imaginations, turning thy trueth vnto a lye, worshipping & seruing the creature, and forsaking thee their creator, which art to be praised for euer: & therefore we doo not meruaile, though thou haue thus in thy iustice giuen vp these froward persons (for the time) into a reprobate minde, seeing they are presumptuous, dispising gouernement, & (standing in their owne conceiptes) faere not to speake euill of them that are in authoritie, nor to oppose theselues against thee and thine annoynted: Yet: sith thou art the God of mercye, that willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turne from his wickednes and liue, and sith thy holy apostle, not only commaunded vs, to make deprecations and supplications, for our selues, but intercessions also for others: and to pray for all men, yea euen our enemies: and sith that as the tree fallerh so it lyeth, and as the day of death leaueth men, so the day of

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of iudgement must finde them: We seeing the blindenes, may sorrowing and lamenting the wilfulnes, of these froward and obstinate persons, whom, neither the deepe feeling of their greuous sinnes, nor the fearefull consideration of thy iust iudgements, nor the present expectation, and feare of death it selfe, hath yet sufficiently humbled, or brought to the acknowledgment, much lesse the forthinking, of their great and notorious offences: doo most humbly beseech thee (and that for Christe his sake) that as thou art not onely the searcher, but the ruler of all mens harts, so it may please thee (at this time) to shew the power & presence of thy holy spirit, in mollifying the hardnesse, and reclayming the frowardnes of these stubborn and irrepentant sinners: that considering they haue not only sinned against heauen and against thee, but against thy whole Church, within this Realme of *England*: and especialllye, againste the principall pillar therof, our dread soueraigne *Queene Elizabeth*: and seeing that there is left the now no further time (being by the iust censure of law cut off) to satisfy the congregation by reformatiō of their liues: yet at least by their mouthes (the messengers of their minds) they may out of the abundance of their hartes, and with the inward touch and testimony of their conscience, voide of all hipocracie, make it now euident and apparant vnto vs, how sorie and ashamed they are, of their disobedience towards thee, of their disloyalte towards our most godly & gracious Princes, & of their trecherous practises against their naturall cuntrie of *England*, That, they fearing thy heauy wrath and iust iudgement, for their great and greuous sinnes, may feelee thy sweet mercies, & most comfortable promises in forgiuenes of the sãc: and so (with the thief that hung on the Crosse receiued to fauour) they may inherit thy euerlasting Kingdome, through Iesus Christe our Lord, to whome with thee and the holyc Ghoste be all praise and thank-giuing now and for euer, *Amen*.

After the end wherof the saide *Hartley* was executed as the first.

The execution of *Sutton*.

Then was the last man *Sutton* conuailed to *Clarkenwell*, where he was appointed to dye: the preacher traunailing still very earnestly to bring him to conforment, wherein he so much preuailed, y there was great hope conceined both by *Paister* *Sheriffe* and
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and him, that the prisoner would haue been converted, because he disclaimed diuers pointes of popery which before he held: prayed for her Maiestie, affirming that he would fight in her cause against what pope or potestate soeuer, howbeit, this seemed (afterward to) be but fained in hope of life, for when he had requested maister Sheriffe if he might be respited for a day or two, and haue conference with the learned, for the better settling of his conscience: and they very charitably had sent back to know the opinion of the Lord cheefe Justice of England, and her Maiesties attorney generall, what might be don therein, who being glad to heare therof, were willing he should be stayed, and gaue such order: Yet (after all this) the said Sutton being onely required to submit himselfe like a good subiect to her Maiesties authoritie, and acknowledge her highnes according to his dutie, to be supreme gouernor as well in all causes as ouer all persons, (for that he before had graunted) he being thus required both by M. Sheriffe and the Preacher, and promise made vnto him, that so his life should be respited: he stode for a while as it were in a doubt what he might do, and after said, that he durst not acknowledge that: because the church of Rome did not graunt it: and I must (quoth he) remaine in the vnitie of the Church, or els I cannot be saued, for so saith S. Augustine. That is (quoth the preacher) in the vnitie of the Church of Christe, not of the Church of Rome: for the vnitie of wicked persons is no vnitie, but a conspiracie. We must follow peace, but it must be in holynes if we will see the Lord, well yet (quoth Sutton) S. Augustine saith as I say. I pray thee (quoth the Preacher) let me heare S. Augustine. The wordes which he alleged are written by S. Augustine in his Epistle Contra Donatistas, the wordes these. *Quisquis a catholica ecclesia fuerit seperatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se viuere existimet, hoc solo scelere quod a Christi unitate disunctus est, non habebit vitam: sed ira dei manet super eum.* And I pray thee (quoth the Preacher) what do these wordes make either for thee or against vs? These are S. August. wordes. Who soeuer is seperated from the Catholique Church, although he otherwise waies behaue him selfe neuer so laudably, yet in this offence because he is seperated from the vnitie of the Church he shall not haue life, but the wrath of God remaineth vpon him. Why?

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we graunt all this, and ad hērunto (if thou wilt) that which the same *S. Augustine* hath in another place. *Non habebit deum patrem qui non agnoscit ecclesiam matrem.* He shal neuer haue God for his father, that wil not acknowledge y^e Church for his mother. But this is (as I said befoze) spokē of the Church of Ch^rist, not of y^e Church of Rome, which Church is his bodye, whereof he speaketh *Ioh 15.*

Abide in me, and I in you: as the braunch cannot beare fruit of it selfe, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine: ye are the braunches, he that abideth in me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a braunch, that withereth: &c. Hērb^y thou maist see, or you at y^e least (good people) do see. (For he that is filthy, let him be filthy still). What it is the Church of Ch^riste, that is the pillar of trueth, whence we must haue direction, and the arke of *Noah*, wherein we shall haue saluation, euen when all y^e wicked shall be drownded. But to the Sutton (quoth he) I feare thou hast dissembled wth vs all this while, and therfoze (good people) let vs pray & leaue him to God. W^herupon the preacher then also made a godly prayer, after y^e which the prisoner persisting in his wilfulnes was forthwith executed.

The Prayer at Suttons execution.

WE haue learned (O Lord) out of thy holy woord, how fearefull a thing it is to fall into thy hand, and how hard for him to be recouered, that was once lightned with thy grace, and hauing tasted of thy trueth, dooth afterward fall away as an Apostata, and by laying hand to the Plough and looking back againe: dooth not only make him selfe vnmeet for thy kingdome, but dooth crucifie againe the Lord Iesus, and make a mocke of him: And therefore in the agony and bitternes of our soules, we pitying the dangerous, and (without repētance) damnable estate of this miserable creature, sometime a professor of thy name, but now a defaser of thy glory, cut off (through his due deserts) not only from life naturall, but (if he dye in this obstinacie) from all hope of saluation heereafter: Doo (in the name of thy Sonne Ch^riste Iesus) most humbly beseeche thee. to be mercifull

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mercifull vnto him, and so to cleare the darkenes of his vnderstanding by the light of thy heauenly grace, so to mollesy the hardnes of his hart, by the opperation of thy holy spirit, that he (remembring from whence he is fallen) may repent and doo the first woork: that he (disclayming and renouncing all felowship with the antechristian sinagog) and those vnfruitfull woorkes of darkenes, maye seeke the vnitye, which is in veretye: and follow that peace which is ioyned with holynes: submitting him selfe to all manner of ordinance of men euer for thy sake, tendering his obedience not of seruile feare, but in the affection of Charety, nor for feare of death, or hope of life, but for the loue of righteousness: And seeing the benefits and blessings which thou hast plentifully powred on this Realme of England, vnder the milde gouernment of our dread Soueraigne Lady, Queene Elizabeth, are in number so manye, in consideration so waightie, in vse so necessarye, in prooffe so comfortable, and hitherto in thy great mercy so continuall: as no eye can be so blinded but it must see the, nor any hart should be so hardned, but it should acknowledge the: That he (among others) hauing had so good experiēce of them, may now with a wounded conscience & greeued soule, for that through his owne wickednes and wretchednes, he hath cut off him selfe from further fruition of them, from the botome of his hart aske, both thee & her Maiesty forgiuenes: and albeit the law hath pronounced him vnwoorthy of longer life on the earth: yet he may be receiued into the Heauens, and so made pertaker, of euerlasting glory, through a liuely faith in the death & blood shedding of thy Sonne Christe Iesus, in whose name we call vpon thee and pray vnto thee as he hath taught vs: saying.

Our Father. &c.

24. Octob. 1588.

F I N I S.



